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NINIGRET

Courtesy of the Museum of Art
Rhode Island School of Design

Ninigret, chief of the Niantic branch of the Narragansetts, kept his tribe neutral during King Philip's War, and his people were therefore allowed to keep their lands in the Charlestown area of Rhode Island. This is the only known early portrait of a Rhode Island sachem. Before being given to the Rhode Island School of Design it was owned by several generations of the Winthrop family.

Mr. Stephen T. Riley, librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, reports that they have a copy of the portrait of Ninigret made from the original in the possession of the Winthrop family of New York. He does not know who made the copy but states that the original (supposedly at the R. I. School of Design) is said to have been painted in 1647.

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A NEW VIEW OF THE DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THE NARRAGANSETTS, NOVEMBER, 1675

by DOUGLAS EDWARD LEACH

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STUDENTS of King Philip's War in seventeenth-century New England have long been aware that the various colonies involved in that desperate conflict against the Indians were not always the best of friends. In fact, intercolonial jealousies and rivalries more than once adversely affected the common war effort. Careful comparison of widely-scattered documentary evidence now reveals an important episode in that story, an episode which hitherto has been largely overlooked by historians. At the same time, we find ourselves confronted by a mystery of chronology which may never be completely unraveled, although the attempt to do so constitutes a fascinating exercise in historical detection.

In June, 1675, the Wampanoag tribe, led by Philip of Pokanoket, went on the warpath against the English settlers of Plymouth Colony, thereby launching upon New England the long-dreaded horror of a major Indian uprising. Attack was answered by retaliation, while other nearby tribes, who also had grievances against the English, were gradually drawn into the conflict. Meanwhile the powerful Narragansett tribe, which occupied the southern part of present-day Rhode Island, soon attracted the suspicions of the New England governments. Many of the colonists believed that the Narragansetts were giving active assistance to the Wampanoags and their allies, and there was a growing sentiment in favor of striking a devastating blow against the Narragansetts before they could announce their open support of Philip by hurling their full strength against the English.

The colonial war effort was being directed by the government of

the New England Confederation, or the "United Colonies," consisting of two delegates from each of the three member colonies—Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut. Rhode Island, an outcast from Puritan civilization, had no part in this loose confederation, and indeed was attempting to remain neutral with respect to the Indian war. In a sense, the three members of the Confederation were sovereign states except for their nominal subordination to the imperial government in London. Each of them formulated its own policies and pursued its own interests, and these frequently took precedence over the policies and interests of neighbor colonies and even the British government itself. Matters of common interest, such as the conduct of the war against the Indians, were referred to the six Commissioners of the United Colonies, but the concurrence of five of the six was necessary to make a proposed course of action binding upon the member governments. Thus one colony could veto the wishes of the other two.

In September 1675, with the war spreading rapidly, the Commissioners adjourned their meeting after agreeing to come together again on the second of November. When they next assembled at Boston early in the designated month, one of the most important issues on the agenda was whether or not to open hostilities against the double-dealing Narragansetts. The Commissioners ultimately decided in favor of war, and began the preparations which culminated in the famous expedition against the Narragansetts and the Great Swamp Fight of December, 1675.

It has commonly been held that the Commissioners of the United Colonies convened at Boston on November 2, 1675, and issued their declaration of war against the Narragansetts on that date. Even the diligent Bodge fell into error at this point.¹ The fault lies with a document found in the archives of Massachusetts. This document, bearing the heading "At a meeting of the Comissioners of the united Colonyes by adjournemt in Boston. November. 2. 1675," embodies the fateful decision which sent a colonial army marching into the

¹George M. Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War* (Boston, 1906), 179; George W. Ellis and John E. Morris, *King Philip's War* (New York, c. 1906), 138-139; Herbert M. Sylvester, *Indian Wars of New England* (Boston, 1910), II, 278. John G. Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston, 1892), III, 173n. indicates awareness that the arrangements for war against the Narragansetts were accompanied by intercolonial tensions.

Narragansett country the following month.² On the basis of this evidence, then, it has been assumed that war was officially declared by the United Colonies at that time.

Further investigation, however, clearly indicates that the official decision for war could not have been made on the second of November, and must have been made at a subsequent date. For example, if a decision had already been reached on November 2d, why did the General Court of Massachusetts on November 4th refer the problem of the Narragansetts to the Commissioners of the United Colonies as though the matter were still pending?³ There is a piece of negative evidence which also supports our thesis. If ever a successful expedition were to be launched against the Narragansetts, certainly one of the key men in laying the groundwork for such a project would be Richard Smith, proprietor of the trading post at Wickford, Rhode Island. Yet the government of Massachusetts in a letter to Smith dated November 6th gave no indication that a decision to move against the Narragansetts had been reached.⁴ Are we to assume that both Smith and the government of Massachusetts were being kept in the dark by the Commissioners? This seems highly unlikely. But the matter is placed beyond question by evidence found in the records of the Commissioners themselves. When these delegates convened on or about November 2d, only one of the two Connecticut Commissioners, Governor John Winthrop, was present in Boston. His colleague, James Richards, was still lingering at Hartford.⁵ According to the official records, on November 5th Winthrop informed his fellow Commissioners that no action taken by them would be binding upon the government of Connecticut until the second Commissioner from that colony was present to take part in the deliberations. Despite the earnest entreaties and angry arguments of the delegates from Massachusetts and Plymouth, Winthrop stuck to his guns and would not be budged. Under these conditions, no major business

²Massachusetts Archives LXVIII, 39. Also Connecticut Archives, War I, 24. This document has been published in the *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, X, 357. (Hereafter cited as P.C.R.)

³Massachusetts Historical Society, Winthrop Papers, XVII, 31. This document has been published in the *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, V, 66-67.

⁴Massachusetts Archives, LXVIII, 46b.

⁵James Richards to Governor Winthrop, November 2, 1675. Winthrop Papers, XVII, 75; Governor Winthrop to Major John Winthrop, November 4, 1675. Winthrop Papers, V, 153.

could be transacted, and the crucial decision concerning the Narragansetts had to be postponed indefinitely.⁶ Thus it is obvious that no formal decision to make war on the Narragansetts was reached by the Commissioners on the second of November, and it seems probable that the matter was still undecided as late as November 6th.

Having shown that the decision for war was almost certainly made sometime after November 6th, we may next attempt to establish the correct date. It is clear that the decision was made no later than November 12th, for on that day the Commissioners recorded some very important business pertaining to a campaign against the Narragansetts obviously already decided upon. For example, on November 12th Josiah Winslow, Governor of Plymouth Colony, was appointed commander in chief of the expedition.⁷ Also on that date the Commissioners officially notified the governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island of their decision, and requested cooperation from those colonies.⁸ Winthrop himself on November 12th wrote to his own government in order to explain the decision which had been made.⁹ Likewise the General Court of Massachusetts sent a letter to Richard Smith of Wickford, hinting of resolutions taken, and promising to give him timely information concerning further developments.¹⁰ This last letter is not clearly dated, but internal evidence indicates that it was written sometime between November 8th and November 12th. The documents mentioned are the best evidence that can now be assembled, and we must admit that this evidence does not warrant the positive assignment of any one date to the declaration of war. But the fact that a number of major decisions were made by the Commissioners on November 12th, plus the fact that so many pieces of mail giving official notice of the plan against the Narragansetts were written on that date *and not before that date*, make it seem highly probable that the one great decision upon which all others

⁶Massachusetts Archives, II, 363. This document has been published in P.C.R., X, 456.

⁷Massachusetts Archives, LXVIII, 53. Also Connecticut Archives, War I, 25, 26. This document has been published in P.C.R., X, 358.

⁸The Commissioners of the United Colonies to the Council of Connecticut, November 12, 1675. Connecticut Archives, War I, 27; The Commissioners of the United Colonies to Governor Coddington, November 12, 1675. Massachusetts Archives, LXVIII, 55. This document has been published in P.C.R., X, 457-458.

⁹Governor Winthrop to the authorities at Hartford, November 12, 1675. Winthrop Papers, V, 154, 199.

¹⁰The General Court of Massachusetts to Richard Smith, n.d. Massachusetts Archives, XXX, 188.

hinged was made at the same meeting on November 12th.

Apparently the decision for war was made possible by the completion of the Connecticut delegation. The tardy Commissioner, James Richards, was relieved of his commission, and in his place was appointed Waitstill Winthrop, the Governor's own son.¹¹ Accordingly the new Commissioner, who probably was already at Boston with his father, was able to take a place at the council table, and the government of the New England Confederation was permitted to function once more. Six signatures, including that of young Winthrop, appear on the declaration of war. It is interesting to notice that not until the 15th did Governor Winthrop inform the authorities at Hartford that his son's appointment as a Commissioner had been accepted by his colleagues.¹² Why Governor Winthrop did not include this piece of information in his letter of the 12th is not clear. Perhaps, like most of us, with much of importance on his mind he was prone to forget a seemingly obvious detail.

Wrapped within the larger mystery of the whole sequence of events is a small but interesting puzzle. In their letter of November 12th to the government of Connecticut, the Commissioners stated that Rhode Island had agreed to cooperate with the United Colonies in their attack on the Narragansetts. Yet on that very same day the Commissioners also wrote their letter to Rhode Island giving official notice of the plan for preventive war, and requesting assistance from the Rhode Islanders. There is no evidence of any earlier notice having been sent to Rhode Island, so how could the government of that colony already have promised cooperation? On November 19th an official of the Rhode Island government wrote to the town of Providence, mentioning the Commissioners' letter of November 12th, and indicating that the colony government had subsequently agreed to cooperate.¹³ It is significant that this correspondent made no mention of any consultation with Rhode Island or any commitment by Rhode Island *prior* to November 12th. On the surface, then, it would seem that the Commissioners in their letter to Connecticut

¹¹John Allyn to Governor Winthrop, November 11, 1675. Winthrop Papers, X, 28.

¹²Governor Winthrop to William Leete, November 15, 1675. Winthrop Papers, V, 154.

¹³Walter Clarke to the authorities at Providence, November 19, 1675. Rhode Island Historical Society Manuscripts, X, 144. This document has been published in *Some Further Papers Relating to King Philip's War* (n.p., 1931), 11.

had taken the very great liberty of stating that Rhode Island had agreed to cooperate, when, in fact, the government of Rhode Island had not yet even received the official request for cooperation. On the other hand, it is quite possible that some unofficial notice had been given to Rhode Island prior to the formal decision by the Commissioners, and that some sort of verbal or written agreement to lend assistance had been received at Boston on or before November 12th. Perhaps the presence in Boston on November 12th of Samuel Gorton, Jr., of Warwick may have some bearing on the case,¹⁴ but unless new evidence in the form of communications to or from Rhode Island is forthcoming, we may never know which of the two possibilities is the true one.

By way of summary it may be useful to attempt a hypothetical reconstruction of the sequence of events at Boston in the fall of 1675. From what has already been said it should be apparent that no one can prove that this is exactly the way things occurred, but at least the hypothesis conforms to the available evidence, and may be considered a fairly close approximation of the actual facts.

In accordance with their decision of the previous September, the Commissioners of the United Colonies assembled at Boston on or about November 2d, only to discover that one of the Connecticut delegates, James Richards, had not arrived. Because of the continuing suspicious behavior of the Narragansetts, and perhaps also because of their hunger for Narragansett land, the Commissioners from Massachusetts and Plymouth were eager for a declaration of war, and urged that a decision for war be made immediately. Connecticut, being dangerously exposed to attack by the Narragansetts in case of war, had long feared an outbreak of hostilities with those Indians, and therefore had adopted a policy of trying to counter the more bellicose attitude of her sister colonies, especially Massachusetts.¹⁵ Therefore Governor Winthrop, still hoping for a peaceful settlement with the Narragansetts, insisted on waiting until the other Connecticut delegate had arrived. Despite the strenuous urging of his fellow Commissioners, Winthrop clung firmly to his position at the

¹⁴Governor Winthrop to William Leete, November 15, 1675. Winthrop Papers, V, 154.

¹⁵The Council of Connecticut to Governor Winthrop, November 2, 1675. Winthrop Papers, X, 28. This letter urges Winthrop to "endeavour a compli-
ance with the Narragansetts." Of course the letter was not in Winthrop's hands by November 5th, but the policy suggested above was already well-known to him.

session of November 5th, even after his angry colleagues had written into the record a resolution in favor of proceeding with the business at hand. Thereupon the four frustrated Commissioners wrote and signed an official statement deploring Winthrop's insistence upon delay.

While the Commissioners from Plymouth and Massachusetts were fuming over Winthrop's refusal to act without his colleague, the government of Connecticut was taking steps to complete its delegation. Word reached Boston that Waitstill Winthrop was authorized to act as the sixth Commissioner. By now the Connecticut men were reluctantly convinced that a firm policy toward the Narragansetts must be adopted, and so on November 12th the six Commissioners were able to agree on a course of action against the offending tribe. This formal decision constitutes the so-called declaration of war against the Narragansetts, erroneously attributed to the second of November.¹⁶

We still need to determine why a document which was probably signed on November 12th bears the date November 2d. What seems most likely is that the earlier date refers merely to the officially-designated day when the Commissioners were scheduled to convene and resume their sessions after the September adjournment. Thus any business done by the Commissioners in that series of sessions, whether actually completed on November 2d or ten days later, could be recorded as occurring "At a meeting of the Commissioners of the united Colonies by adjournment in Boston. November. 2. 1675." It may be instructive to note, however, that although the record of proceedings at the session when Winslow was made commander in chief of the expedition bears a heading almost identical with that which appears on the declaration of war, it also carries at its foot the date November 12, 1675, indicating clearly the actual date of the proceedings recorded on that document. It is quite possible that the form of the declaration of war was actually drafted and dated on or even before the second of November, in the expectation that it would be quickly approved and signed by the Commissioners when

¹⁶It should be pointed out that, strictly speaking, the Commissioners did not issue a declaration of war. What they did do was to sign a document proclaiming their intention of sending a military force to attack the Narragansetts, but still leaving the door open for a peaceful settlement if the Narragansetts should decide to comply with the demands of the English.

they convened, and only the stubbornness of John Winthrop prevented this from happening.

Resuming our hypothetical reconstruction of events, we may state that on November 12th the six Commissioners, having reached their basic decision, now spent the rest of the day implementing it. They appointed Winslow to command the proposed expedition. They drafted two important letters—one to Governor Coddington of Rhode Island informing him of the decision and urging that his colony lend needed assistance, the other to the government of Connecticut with a similar message. In addition Governor Winthrop undertook to write a personal letter to the authorities at Hartford, a letter in which he justified the policy of preventive war by reviewing the alleged infidelities of the Narragansett tribe. With this letter he enclosed a copy of the official decision made by the Commissioners. Likewise on November 12th the General Court of Massachusetts, having been informed of the decision, drafted a letter to Richard Smith of Wickford in order to give him advance notice of what was impending. This mail was carried out of Boston in the saddlebag of Samuel Gorton, Jr., early the next day.¹⁷

Within a very few days the necessary preparations for a large military expedition to the Narragansett country were under way. On November 16th the Massachusetts forces under Captain Samuel Appleton, which had been operating in the western part of the colony, were ordered to return.¹⁸ Winslow was in Boston on the 17th, busy with plans for the expedition which had been entrusted to his leadership.¹⁹ One great cause of worry was removed when official word was received that the government of Rhode Island would cooperate in the venture. On the 22d of November the government of Connecticut formally approved the decision made at Boston, and named Major Treat to be second-in-command of the expedition.²⁰ On December 9th the Massachusetts contingents marched from Dedham, and were joined by the Plymouth troops at Rehoboth on the 10th and the Connecticut troops at Pettaquamscutt on the 18th.

¹⁷Governor Winthrop to William Leete, November 15, 1675. Winthrop Papers, V, 154.

¹⁸The Council of Massachusetts to Samuel Appleton, November 16, 1675. Massachusetts Archives, LXVIII, 57.

¹⁹Governor Winslow's letter of November 17, 1675. Massachusetts Archives, LXVIII, 62.

²⁰J. Hammond Trumbull, editor, *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1852), II, 383.

The next day, in one of the epic battles of New England history, the combined forces of the United Colonies attacked and destroyed the secret stronghold of the Narragansetts in the Great Swamp, thereby greatly weakening the potential power of the enemy, and perhaps hastening the end of the war.

Our examination of the documentary evidence in this case has served to bring into the open the circumstances surrounding the fateful decision to commence hostilities against the Narragansetts. It is virtually certain that the official decision was made at least four and probably ten days later than November 2d, although an unofficial agreement may have existed among the five Commissioners at an earlier date. We have also gained a view into the differences of opinion and the tensions which characterized relations among the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut at the time of King Philip's War. Intercolonial rivalries kept cropping up to hamper the common war effort, and it is correct to say that the war was won in spite of the mutual jealousies and suspicions of the various colonies. Thus our New England forebears knew something of the difficulties which have so often plagued grand alliances in history, and which still are making themselves felt in our own day.

THE EDUCATION OF DR. JOHN CLARKE

by G. ANDREWS MORIARTY, A.M., LL.B., F.S.A., F.S.G., F.A.S.G.

DR. JOHN CLARKE of Newport was obviously an educated man. But the question arises as to where he obtained his education. His ancestry is well known. While in England in 1920 the writer made extensive searches with his friend, the Suffolk antiquary, the late Vincent B. Redstone, Esq., F.S.A., of Woodbridge, in the Suffolk records and also in the Public Records Office in London; the results were printed in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, v. 75, p. 273-301. Subsequently the East Anglian antiquary, the late Arthur Campling, Esq., compiled in his "East Anglian Pedigrees," published by The Harleian Society in their volume for 1939, a pedigree of the family in England, which gave collateral lines,

which were not considered in the above referred to paper.

Dr. Clarke was born in the country parish of Westhorpe, Suffolk, on 3 October 1609 and baptized on 8 October following, the son of Thomas and Rose (Kerrich) Clarke of Westhorpe. The Clarks were a family of prosperous yeomen with gentle affiliations. As Clarke was from Suffolk, it would seem possible that he attended the grammar school at Bury Saint Edmund's, and a search of that school's register should be made.

That Dr. Clarke was a university man is clearly indicated by the known facts of his life. In 1652, while he was Rhode Island agent in England, there appeared his *Ill Newes from New-England* "By John Clark Physician of Rode Island in America." His "Concordance of the Bible" was ordered to be printed by the Parliament, and by his will he bequeathed to Richard Bailey his "concordance and lexicon, written by myself, being the fruit of several years study and to him a Hebrew bible and rest of books." The question of where he was educated is, however, a difficult one. The name of John Clarke is not uncommon, and it is hard to distinguish him among the various John Clarks who were matriculated around this time at Oxford and Cambridge. The usual age at which boys entered the universities in this period was about fourteen or sixteen years of age, but there are many matriculations of persons considerably older. The case of Roger Williams, who was born about 1606/7, is a good example of this. He entered Sutton's Hospital (Charterhouse) in 1621 and the University in 1625, when he was close to twenty years old.

The following John Clarks were at Oxford in the period when Dr. Clarke may be expected to have been at a university:

John Clarke B.A. Brasenose 11 Nov. 1628, M.A. 2 July 1632.

John Clarke B.A. incorporated from Cambridge 11 July 1636.

(Foster: *Alumni Oxonienses*)

It is far more likely that an East Anglian with Puritan leanings would have studied at Cambridge, then the great Puritan stronghold of learning. The following John Clarks were enrolled at Cambridge during the period 1623-1637:

John Clarke sizar at Trinity 1626, B.A. 1629/30. M.A. 1633.
Ordained deacon 27 February 1631/2. [He is evidently not our Rhode Island man.]

John Clarke matriculated sizar at St. Catherine's Easter 1627, B.A. 1630/1.

John Clarke matriculated sizar at King's Michaelmas 1633, B.A. 1637/8. [He also may be ruled out.]

John Clarke matriculated sizar at Trinity Easter 1634, B.A. 1637/8. [He too may be ruled out.]

(Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigenses*)

It is possible that the John Clarke matriculated at St. Catherine's Easter 1627, B.A. 1630/1 may have been our John Clarke.

The statement has been frequently made that Dr. Clarke was educated at Leyden, but the writer has never been able to discover the source of this statement or when and where it first originated. However, it appears very likely that such may have been the case. Leyden, founded in 1574; after the memorable siege, was with the exception of Padua the foremost university in Europe for the study of medicine in the seventeenth century, and students came from England and all Europe to the Dutch university for medical instruction. Graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, as well as many others, matriculated at Leyden for medical studies. Many did not remain to take degrees, and a good many took a course in medicine without any intention of practicing, as part of a general education, going on to other continental universities for other subjects. The Register of Leyden gives the following English students who matriculated in medicine at the University:

John Clarcq [Clarke] Anglus. Matriculated 17 July 1635, aged 21 years.

John Clarcq Anglo-Britannus, matriculated 24 March 1637, aged 23. [As Dr. John Clarke arrived in New England in November, 1637, he would hardly be identical with this John Clarke.]

It seems quite possible and perhaps probable that the John Clarke who matriculated in medicine at Leyden, 17 July 1635, aged 21, may be identical with our Dr. John Clarke and perhaps also with the graduate of St. Catherine's Cambridge, of 1630/1. The difference of five years in the ages is not vital, as at this period ages are usually only approximate, and the ages given in the Leyden Register are often not reliable. (Innes-Smith: *English Speaking Students at Leyden*.)

FIRST AUSTRALIAN IN RHODE ISLAND

by THOMAS DUNBABIN*

IN 1851 Herman Melville wrote in *Moby Dick*, "That great America on the other side of the sphere, Australia, was given to the world by the enlightened whalemén." It is true that the first American vessels known to have visited Australia were the whaleships *Asia* and *Alliance* of Nantucket, as the journal kept on the *Asia* by Sylvanus Crosby, now in the library of The Marine Historical Association, Inc., at Mystic, Connecticut, shows these vessels were in Sharks' Bay, Western Australia, from 28 April to 4 May, 1792. Other American whalers visited Australia between 1792 and 1812; fifty years later New England whalers were as thick as flies round Australia.

But it was the American merchantmen and the sealers who had the most to do with Australia during the formative period, 1792 to 1812. And amongst these the Rhode Island vessels played the leading part. Of the sixty-two American vessels known to have visited Australia in those twenty years, thirteen were from Providence and two were from Newport. As far as actual ports were concerned, Boston led with fourteen. After Providence came New York with eleven; Nantucket and New Bedford sent six each.

Twelve logs or journals of American vessels that visited Australia in the 1792-1812 period are known to exist in New England, as well as six sets of papers relating to the voyages of such vessels. Providence has four of the journals and four sets of papers. To The Rhode Island Historical Society belong the lively journal kept on the *Patterson* of Providence in 1803-04 by Crawford Carter and the journal kept on the *Ann and Hope*, which was in Botany Bay in October, 1798, by his brother, Dr. Benjamin Carter. The John Carter Brown Library has two journals of the *Ann and Hope* on her 1798 voyage and the papers of the *Ann and Hope* (1798), *John Jay* (1800), *Arthur* (1802), and *Eliza* (1807-08).

Crawford Carter mentions in his *Patterson* journal that when the *Patterson* left Sydney, New South Wales, Australia, on 28 November 1803, Mr. Flemming of Providence, who had been a resident of Sydney, came on board for a passage to China. No more is said of Mr. Flemming; presumably he left the ship at Canton.

*Mr. Dunbabin, press attaché for Australia at Ottawa, Canada, wrote "First Rhode Islander in Tasmania," which appeared in *Rhode Island History* July, 1949.

This Mr. Flemming seems to have been the first American to settle for a time in Australia, unless that distinction belongs to some of the seamen, who from time to time deserted American vessels in Port Jackson. In any case their names are not known.

There are two Flemings (or Flemmings) mentioned in the New South Wales records at this time, but neither is the Flemming from Providence, Rhode Island. One was James Flemming, a gardener, who went to England in charge of plants at the end of 1803 and then took a post in the West Indies. The other was John Fleming, who returned to England in 1807 after living in the colony for sixteen years.

A second Rhode Islander came to Sydney in 1805. This was Arnold Fisk from Cranston or Johnston, Rhode Island, who arrived on 16 May as master of the Spanish prize *San Francisco and San Paulo*, captured on the coast of Chile by the brig *Harrington*, William Campbell master. Fisk had shipped on the *Harrington* at Tahiti on the vessel's run from Sydney to the coast of Chile. He spent the rest of his life in Australia.

The first Australian to settle in America went to Rhode Island more than ten years before Mr. Flemming of Providence departed from Sydney. When Benjamin Page, master of the *Hope*, the first Rhode Island vessel to visit Australia, left Sydney in January, 1793, he shipped three convicts. One, William Murphy, Captain Page transferred to H.M.S. *Powerful* at St. Helena. Another, Shepherd, he put on a vessel bound to Ostend. The third, Bateman, went on with the *Hope* to Providence. When Captain Page returned to Sydney in the *Halcyon* of Providence in 1794, he reported that Bateman had married in Rhode Island. He added sadly that Bateman had "more than once exhibited symptoms of returning to habits that he had not forgotten and which would soon bring him to disgrace in his new situation."



NATHANAEL GREENE'S LETTERS TO
"FRIEND SAMMY" WARD

edited by CLIFFORD P. MONAHON and CLARKSON A. COLLINS, 3rd.

[continued from January, 1956, v. 15, no. 1, page 10]

Coventry March the 5 1771

Dear Friend

Think not from my long silence that my friendship for you is in the least abated. I have too happily experienced the sweets resulting therefrom to be so much my own enemy as to drop such advantageous acquaintance. Altho you have much reason to complain of my long, long, long, silence yet I can assure you that its not for want of affection nor regard but imputeable entirely to another Cause, Namely the death of my Honnoured Father⁴ whose dissolution turnd all our affairs into quite different Channels that made it requisite for me to give the closest application and attendance in the Settlement of matters, but having almost accomlisht my work I am determin'd to make such a Recess from business as to enjoy the Social happiness resulting from a friendly entercourse both personal and Epistolary. From which consideration I have ventured to send you this letter to answer yours of January the first, and to redeem my promise made you at Greenwich if it is not past the equity of redemption. I hope my neglect is not unpardonable but am sensible that I must be indebted to your goodness to pass it bye. Altho I have not seen you nor wrote to you for some time past, yet I am confident there's not a friend of yours that hath thought more times on you than I have done since our last meeting. Many hath been the pleasing moments I have spent in contemplating the excellence of friendship and how happy I was in my acquaintance. Language would fail me if I were to attempt to point out to you the fine feelings of the Human mind when exercised upon that Excellent subject of Friendship. A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and Swellings of the Heart which pasions of all kind do cause and enduce. I dare not attempt to write to you who are at the feet of Gamaliel upon any particular subject, being Consious of my own ignorance. I confine my self to such Homely fare as I have been accustom'd to. I have nothing more to recommend my self to you than a sincere regard for your person and interest which I hope to manifest upon all occasions. Being just about to depart from Home on a voyge to Newport, am under a necessity to conclude which I shall do with a promise

⁴According to *The Greenes of Rhode Island . . .* by Louise Brownell Clarke, Nathanael Greene, Sr., died in October, 1768.

to write to you Longer next time. Friends are generally in good health in our Neighbourhood. Present my respects to Mr & Misis Manning, to friend Tommy Arnold and Mr Foster, also to Mr David Howel & Brother.⁵ I conclude with much regard. your Sincere friend

Nath. Greene, Jr.

East Greenwich May 21-1771

Dear Friend

I have detain'd Mr Arnold Mr Brown & Mr Harris a few moments to inform you of the receipt of your Letter. I have not time, without putting their patience to a Severe Tryal to answer it in full therefor shall postpone it till a better opportunity and Conclude with the Contents of one of Seneca Letters, I am well I hope you are well Farewell

Nath Greene Jr

My Respects or Compliments if you please to your four Sisters Hannah Nancy Kitty & Polly

[Superscription] To Mr Samuel Ward Jr at Westerly

Coventry September 26, 1771

Dear Friend

I Fear my Promise to Write to you is so Deeply Mortgaged that its almost past the Equity of Redemption. But as you cannot Plead the Statute of Limitations, I determin to avail my self of the present Opportunity to Redecm it, and that you maynt be too great a sufferer by my long, long, long, silence. If quantity will serve in lieu of Quallity I determin to Write sufficient for three or four common Letters. It is very Fortunate for you to be able to Enumerate a long Train of Noble

⁵The Reverend James Manning (1738-1791), first president of Brown University, and his wife Margaret (Stites) Manning.

Thomas Arnold (1751-1826) was a classmate of Ward's at Brown. Later he became chief justice of the Rhode Island Supreme Court. He married Mary Brown, daughter of Obadiah and Mary (Harris) Brown.

Theodore Foster (1752-1828), a member of the Brown class of 1770, was a year ahead of Ward in college. He held many public offices and was United States Senator from 1790 to 1803.

David Howell (1748-1824), first professor at Brown and acting president in 1791-92, served in the Continental Congress and was United States Judge for the District of Rhode Island from 1812 until his death. He married Mary Brown, daughter of Jeremiah and Waitstill (Rhodes) Brown.

Ancestors, but to equal the best and excell the most is to have no Occation for any. It is a laudable Emulation to endeavour to surpass all our Progenitors in Knowledge, and to exceed them in worthy Actions. Should we not my Friend think him a poor Husbandman who haveing received a large Patrimony spends his Days in slothfulness without enlarging his Fortune or rendering his Estate more considerable by Improvements. So he that enters into Life with all the advantages of a Noble Birth, Adorn'd with a Liberal Education and Improv'd by the most Pious Example cannot be excus'd short of an improvement proportionable to the Opportunity given.

To pursue Virtue where theres no Opposition is the Merit of a common Man. But to Practice it in spight of all Opposition is the Carrector of a truly great and Noble Soul. My Friend let the Practice of Virtue be your Aim for on that depends your Future Importance and usefulness in Life. Virtuous Manners I call such acquired Habits of Thought and Correspondent Actions as lead to a steady Prosecution of the generall Welfare of Society: Virtuous Principles I call such as tend to confirm these Habits by Superinduceing the Idea of Duty. Virtuous Manners are a permanent Foundation for Civil Liberty, because they lead the Passions and Desires them selves to coincide with the appointments of Publick Law. The infant Mind is Pregnant with a Variety of Passions. But I apprehend it is in the Power of those who are entrusted with the Education of Youth in a considerable Degree to determin the Bent of the Noble Passions and to fix them on salutary Objects, or let them loose to such as are pernicious or destructive. Here then lies the Foundation of civil Liberty; in forming the Habits of the Youthful Mind, in forwarding every Passion that may tend to the promotion of the Happiness of the Community, in fixing in our selves right Ideas of Benevolence, Humanity Integrity and Truth. For what purpose to study and Letters if they do not render us Beneficent and Humane.

What shall I say to you upon Benevolence. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly. He sendeth his Rain and maketh his Sun to shine upon the Just and Unjust but he doth not Rain Wealth nor shine Honnor and Vertues upon Men equally. Common Benefits are to be communicated with all, but peculiar benefits with Choice For Divinity makeeth the Love of our selves the Pattern the Love of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. Therefore regard is to be had to the Merit of the Objects the worth of the Occation in the display of Our Bounty it is our Duty to seek the good of All Men, but never to be in Bondage to their farces or fancies for that is but faultely or softness which maketh an honest mind Prisoner; for tho Riches are for Spending they should be spent in Honnor and Good Actions. Learn my Friend to distinguish

betwixt true and false Modesty. What I call false Modesty is not to have Resolution to deny an unreasonable request or Power to oppose a corrupt Custom. The one often proves destructive to our Interest, the [other] to our Manners. But never be too precipitate in an[torn] for Consideration would often prevent what the best Skil [ll in] the World cannot Recover. Our Weakness our Want of Resolution of Sagacity of Knowledge and Abillity seems in some sort to put it out of our Power to form a medium of Conduct to Govern our selves by through the different Occurencies in Life. Its much safer to follow Truth alone, than to have all the World for Company in the Road of Error. Therefore when Sinners Entice consent thou not, for to remove a present inconveniency and by consequence entail upon our selves a lasting disadvantage cannot be a prudent Measure; study to Please when you can do it with Honnor and Conscience and not injure your interest. Envy, Malice, and Detraction seems to be ruling Vices of this age so that you need no Expect without the aid of Omnipotence to prevent Falsehoods, nor stop the mouth of Invention: you must Therefore gard against report, which is but another Name for Forgery. A Fiction may be clothed with probabillity, and the disguise of Truth become a pasport for a Mischievous Lye. The Grossest story, when artificially Cookt by cunning Envy, may appear likely, and gain belief. A seeming Reason, is, till it be discovered, as powerful as a real one. But Truth tho it may be Disguised and Veild for a season;—Yet like the Sun in the Firmament, whose Glory is often Eclips't by the interception of his Rays; He does by the Efflux of his own light, dispel the Mists, and leave his Native Beauty unblemisht, so shall Truth rise upon Falsehood.

I hope youl now take off the Mortgage of my Promise, it begins to grow late and I weary, for I have stole these Moments to Write when I should have been a Sleep. For being (as the Proverb goes) like a Waterford Merchant, very full of Business and nothing to do, I could not find Time to Write in the Day. Commend me to your Sisters, my respects to your Father. I was not a little Charmd with the agreeable manner in which he treated his Children. Such paternal care as was displayd in every Action its to be hoped is repaid by perfect Obedience and Fil[ial] Respect. I saw your Sister Hannah a few Days [ago] and she informs me that she enjoys her Health as well as she hath done of Late. I am going to Write to Mr Arnold to give him an invitation to come and spend a Week or Fortnight with me. Should be exceeding glad of your Company to make a Little Society. I make no doubt of finding you amusement in Fishing Fowling and Studying. I can Write no more for my Eyes begins to want props already. Write to me soon for I wont send you another Letter till you answer this for I intend to be

as particular as the Ladies are in their Visits. I am your sincere Friend
Nathanael Greene Jr

P.S. Despise the Disrespect of those, who through Ignorance of your Worth, give you ill Usage and learn to overcome Affliction by the Hopes of getting out of Them; this is a way to be too hard for ill Fortune it self—
[Superscription] For Mr. Samuel Ward Jun. To the Care of Miss H. Ward in Westerly

Coventry July the 4th 1772⁶

When I wak't this morning I am apt to conclude my Mind was abroad, but where or what about I have not yet found out. I had not lain long before a train of thoughts rose gradually to my view by which I was convinced of the return of my Mind. Like a Servant that has been out over Night, and over staid his time, hee steal softly in and take his place, ready to attend the first summons. But that little Varlet his Conscience wont suffer him to be at Ease, but punishes him with rising doubts that his absence has been discovered. He comes into his masters presense trembling. If he finds from his Master Tone and Countenance that hees not discoverd the pleasant Emotions that he feels, fill his Heart with gratitude and make him propose some very extraordinary piece of service that is sure to please his Master. So did my Mind after taking its place, and tuneing the organs Steps up, pray Sir, shall I make a Visit to Mr Wards this morning. surely you want to know how that little Angle and your Dear Sisters does. If I had been as Angry as Jove when he shakes the Elements with his peals of thunder This would have made [me] as Calm as a Summers evening. I held fourth my hand, and bad him go, and return quickly. He was gone a few moments and returns, to ask whether he must enquire after Mr Ward and my friend Sammy too—Yes, Yes all all you Dog run fly Swiftly. Now while hees gone I have set down to write you this Letter.

Passion and Desire included are the prime Ministers that directs our Will. It is of the utmost importance in Life to have our passions directed to proper objects. Such as tend to Just and Rational ends, for Nature has planted a spirit of imitation, that our Emotion should resemble the passions, that produced the Action. Have you not felt, upon seeing

⁶This letter, evidently written either to Ward's sister Mary or his sister Catharine, is included both because it mentions Greene's young friend and helps to complete the record of his intimacy with the Ward family.

or reading of noble Deeds and generous Actions pleasant Emotions mixt with Desires of Imitation. These are the advantages that Spring from Choice Books and the best of company—they inspire the Mind to Action and Direct the passions—Solomon that wise King saw clearly the advantages that result from an early inculcation of Virtue. "Train up a Child in the fear of the Lord and when he grows Old he will not Depart therefrom." It is surprising to me how there came to be established so many Viscious Customs, when the Natural bent of the Mind, is to Virtue and piety. Are not our Emotions the sum total of our Happiness and Misery, And are not Effects similar to their Causes Objects which are agreeable produce an agreeable Emotion and Objects that are hurtful disagreeable Emotions. How admirably the Wisdom of Providence appears in the formation of things Animate and inanimate, that our choice and refuse of them could not fail to comport with our true happiness if we attended to the Emotions of the Mind.

I had as good Write Natural as study to be Dull My Messenger has just return'd and has given me an Account of your Health, thoughts, and Employment. The power that fiction hath over the mind affords an endless Variety of amusements, always at hand to employ a vacant hour amusements of this Nature are a fine source in Solitude it Cheers the Heart and Sweetens the mind, and contributes much to Social Happiness he found you upon a Large extended plane of Benevolence, bestowing pity and compassion on all the distressed Travelers, giving Hopes to some and Advice to others according to their peculiar situation, that you might Discharge your Duty with strict justice and kind Benevolence—Nancy was situated in the Bay of troubled Waters, where the Winds and Sea had contrary directions. She had lost the Anchor of constancy and Hope, Sometimes moveing Involuntarily with the motions of the Tide, and then drawn back again with the gentle Gales of Gratitude & Generosity. Hannah sat at the Fountain of Friendship purging its Waters and directing its streams. May you and I long very long enjoy the comfortable and refreshing Draughts that flow from this fountain—Your Daddy was Elevated a little above his standard of Philosophy at vanquishing the Noyes,⁷ but it lasted but for a moment, for when he reflected, who heed conquerd, he thought there might be Glory lost by being overcome, but none gaind by overcoming them—Sam where was Sam, not a word Speak. where was Sam. I dont Care to tell says my Messenger. Why whats the matter tell in a moment, whole [Who'll] endure your suspense—Why then, if, if, I must I

⁷Governor Samuel Ward was engaged in a long dispute over land with his neighbors Joseph and Sanford Noyes, during the course of which Joseph Noyes brought suit against him.

will. I found him out in the woods, the back of the house with his Winter Shoes on, new modeling his Bow agreeable to the Boston plan, he had scrape up the Earth as you have seen stray cattle when they meet and was all besmeared with the Dust he had raised—he looked like the Miller in the Farce.

Can you forgive all this nonsense. I am sure you are good natured, and you had need to be to have patience with this whimsical Letter. He make my next more agreeable by making it shorter. I wish you abundance of happiness, and nothing shall ever make me wish otherwise. I should think myself happy to be able to contribute to your happiness—But what it is, where it is, or how I shall effect it you must be my directress and He govern my self accordingly I am my Dear your ever faithful friend for such I will prove

Nath Greene Jr

Potowomut Sunday 5 o Clock PM

I have been to a Meeting to Day, our silence was interrupted, by a vain conceited Minister. His Sermon made me think of a certain Diet call'd Whistle Belly Vengeance, he that eats most has the most Share. He began with asking us what could be said that had not been said. Much more thinks I than you ever thought off or ever will—poor man, he had a little morsel to comfort him self, and he couldnt be content to Eat it alone, but feeling the Springs of Benevolence rise in his Mind he thought it his Duty to make a distribution amongst the whole Congregation. The Assembly was so large and the matter so light, that it evaporated off like smoak, and left us neither the fuller nor the better pleased than when he began. Debby⁸ deliverd the Doctor your Letter. I was at Mr. Caseys⁹ this morning and he call'd me out to speak with me, and began with a great deal of emotion and said he had received a Letter of a surprising Nature from you, and gave it me to read. I took it and began with an audible Voice. The Doctor soon husht me saying, the people would hear. I did that to see, whether he intended to be openly angry, if he had I intended to justified the truth of your Observations as openly. When I had read it he askt me what I thought on't. As to the in [torn] says I you must be convinc'd, its good, for who

⁸Deborah Ward (1758-1835), Samuel Ward, Jr.'s., fifth sister, became the wife of Greene's brother Christopher, widower of her sister Catharine (1752-1782).

⁹Either Thomas Casey (1706-1797) or his son Silas Casey (1734-1814), both of whom were leading merchants and landowners in the Warwick-East Greenwich area.

ever wanted [torn] mend a fault in an Enemy. It would be as Absurd as for the Devil to fright us for doing wickedly. As to the subject I must confess you have given too much reason for his remarks. I myself have been in Doubt whether I ought to impeach your understanding or Integrity, for truth and Justness of Observation always ought to regulate our Praise and when there appeared neither the one or the other in his Observations, what could I think but that he had a mind to sell wind for a round Sum of ready Money. I told him a flatterer or Sycophant that blows up the Mind of a Person into a Tympany, was like a Physician that administers Poison and then demands a large Fee for it. He began to justify him self with regard to his integrity. I told him it might be easily done, but then it must be at the expense of his understanding; and I should have the better Oppinion of him to give up the latter to save former. He is going to write you a Letter if he appears very serious I advise you to turn the subject into ridicule for many Persons has yealded to the force of Ridicule in a point which they could never been argued out off. The Doctor will take his Wig off, and what will then appear, why a bare Pole. You have seen the lecture upon heads I suppose, and remember my remark upon his Wig. should you get into a paper war I shall pity you, for his Letters will be so Barren and your Subject so dry, that it wont give scope to your Genius or entertainment to your Mind.

Don't fail of being a good Boy improve in knowledge and increase in virtue. You ought after all has been done for you to be a very good Lad. I am in hopes of seeing you a Star of the first magnitude. It would please me to see you shine like the Sun in the Firmament but then I and all my Friends must lye buried in the Efflux of your Light untill you was pleasd to disappear. So I thought Ile make a Star of [torn] and shall rejoice to see you shine with great Light. Mr. Varnum is calling for me. I cant write or think any more.

My best respects to your Dady. Tell Polly I have not got our ticket, but expect it soon. I wrote a Letter to Caty, and whether I left it at Coventry or lost it out of my pocket I cant tell. I fear I shant have opportunity to Write again being obligd to go to Bristol to morrow in company with Jacob¹⁰ & Mr Varnum.¹¹ My Love to all the Family. I have

¹⁰Jacob Greene (1740-1809), Nathanael's eldest brother was associated with his brothers in the firm of Jacob Greene and Company. Later he became sole owner of the forge at Coventry.

¹¹James Mitchell Varnum (1748-1789), a graduate of Brown in the class of 1769, was admitted to the bar in 1771 and rose rapidly in his profession. Varnum was colonel of the Kentish Guards in which Greene began his military career as a private. During the Revolutionary War he rose to the rank of brigadier general, and later served in the Continental Congress.

been in the Dumps for two or three Days past I have sat brooding over Mischief and hatching Evils. I began a wrangle with myself this morning and turned Melancholy and all her train out of Doors. I had as good write natural as study to be Dull its my own ink and paper, and youll have no postage to pay, therefore youll be unreasonable if you find fault because you are obliged to Read it. Debby kept me very chearful and merry all the way Home I warrant youll have a fine History from [her] To her I refer you for Greenwich particulars. I have no more to say. Amen.

N G [torn]

I wrote this Letter and intended to have sent by [torn] of Newport, but having no opportunity to forward it till you arrivd, and part of it being upon the subject you enquired about and I feeling Lazy, I thought I would let it go and it would save me the trouble of writing anew [about] the Doctor.

[Superscription] To Mr Samuel Ward Jun at Westerly

[Endorsed] Genl Greene 1772

Aunt Greens

July 20 1772

Dear Friend

I expect you to Greenwich to Day and I am bound for Coventry and shant be Down till tomorrow Night. I charge you by all the Gentle ties of Friendship to let me see you before you return. I have some things to mention to you which I should not be willing to write. I flatter my self I have interest enough in your friendship to ensure me this interview. If I have not I have been greatly deceivd. You may have friends that you regard more than me, but none that Loves you better than your honest friend Nat. I never presumed to have any accomplishments to entitle me to Peoples regards but Gentleness of Manners, Humanity of Soul and a Beneficent temper, if these quallities are worth your regard you shall share as largely of their influence as any one with whom my Heart is bound by the Bonds of Friendship or the ties of Gratitude. Come to Coventry if you can you know my Heart will bound to meet you. The greatest and most noble function of the human Heart is to confer Happiness and felicity on as many of your species as you can if this be true come and see me.

[signature torn off]

[Superscription] To be deliver'd if present but not to be sent
To Mr Samuel Ward Jun

NEWS-NOTES

THE Rhode Island Historic Sites Committee held its final meeting at John Brown House on April 4. This committee, formed in February, 1954, has made a statewide survey of historic buildings and sites and has prepared a priority list of those that are of the most importance. A constitution for a permanent organization to be known as the Heritage Foundation of Rhode Island has been drawn.

A bill incorporating the Foundation was introduced into the General Assembly in March, accompanied by a favorable message from Governor Dennis J. Roberts. The purposes of this body are "receiving, holding, investing and administrating funds and properties and of identifying, acquiring, using, maintaining, opening to the public with suitable regulations, and preserving for posterity buildings, places, tracts of land and objects of architectural, educational, artistic, cultural and other similar interest or of outstanding natural beauty in the state of Rhode Island."

* * *

Another important event in the field of historic preservation took place on February 20, when the organization meeting of the Providence Preservation Society was held at John Brown House. Mr. John Nicholas Brown was the moderator of an enthusiastic meeting attended by more than two hundred persons interested in preserving the historic buildings of old Providence. Enclosed with this issue of *Rhode Island History* is an announcement and application blank for the use of any of our members who wish to become charter members of this important organization.

* * *

Rhode Island Heritage Week will be celebrated in commemoration of the one hundred eightieth anniversary of the State's declaration of independence on May 4, 1776. Many historic buildings will be open free to the public between May 1 and May 8 throughout Rhode Island. Special patriotic programs will be held on May 4, and University Hall at Brown will be illuminated with candles in the windows from dusk to midnight. A full list of the buildings which will be open and a program of events can be obtained from the Rhode Island Development Council, JA 1-7100, extension 530.

In connection with Heritage Week the Society will hold an exhibition titled "Rhode Island and the Spirit of Liberty."



9. DOUBLE CHEST OF DRAWERS

Mahogany

Boston 1760-1780

Double chests of drawers (they were sometimes called chest-on-chests) were often made with the emphasis on utility rather than on adornment. The one pictured on the opposite page combines the two.

We are tempted to point to Benjamin Frothingham as the probable maker. The cove molding, the shape of the bonnet, the design of the pilasters, the general proportions, and the quality of the construction support this attribution. Especially noteworthy are the carved rosettes of the broken pediment and the center finial, which has exceptionally fine carving.

Mention should be made of the finish of the surface. Chests and double chests because of their utility, even when they were "out of style," often had continuous use, and as a result many have been refinished, often with more vigor than skill. The finish on this piece should suit the taste of one who prefers his furniture unspoiled by such treatment.

Ex-collection Henry A. Hoffman



10. TABLE

Mahogany

Rhode Island 1760-1780

This square drop-leaf table has the features which are associated with both Providence and Newport, but without sufficient detail to attribute it to either place. It was probably used for general utility purposes, standing against the wall with the leaves down and used with the leaves up as occasion arose for breakfast, for tea, or for cards.

The long, slender, squarish legs, terminating in a claw foot with an elongated ball and webless claws is done with a hand that fell short of the performance we usually expect of our Rhode Island cabinetmakers. Price was probably the reason. As in the case today, the customer was often satisfied with the work of an apprentice, after considering the use for which the piece was intended. The quality of the mahogany, however, was almost always high, even in some of the less expensive pieces. The table originally belonged to Moses Brown of Providence.

Ex-collection Julia D. and Franklin R. Cushman



11. SIDE CHAIR

Mahogany

Probably Rhode Island 1780-1800

We are apt to find that as the eighteenth century drew to a close, since there was easier transportation and the consequent increase in the mobility of the craftsmen, styles of one locality are more likely to resemble the styles of another. When this chair and the one following are considered in comparison with the known examples from Connecticut and Rhode Island, a great similarity can be seen.

The principal difference between no. 11 and no. 12 is in the design of the splat. A careful comparison will show many variations, none of which indicate a difference in region of origin.



12. SIDE CHAIR

Mahogany

Probably Rhode Island 1780-1800

The style of back, really a combination of the Chippendale and Hepplewhite styles, must have been pleasing to the taste of New Englanders of the period. Examples of this style are found in relatively large numbers in Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. Some are very plain and simple, with no embellishment in the form of a carved splat or moulded legs. Others have a sophistication which may vary from a very little to a considerable amount. This and no. 11 belong to the latter category and each were probably part of a set of eight or twelve used in the dining room. Most of these sets have been dispersed by the process of inheritance. In the usual case several sons and daughters would share the set equally and so today we find them singly, in pairs, in sets of three, and in any number up to twelve in which case the complete set has been fortunately held together.

DEVILS FOOT ROCK

RECENT newspaper articles concerning the location of Devils Foot Rock bring to mind a humorous version of the famous legend, preserved in the Society's manuscript collections (Shepley Papers, v. 15, p. 49). It was sent to Daniel Updike of East Greenwich by Charles W. Greene with an accompanying letter dated May 21, 1833, which states: "I send for Miss Abby the legend respecting 'the Devils foot' in North Kingston, copied from a London printed book."

A very similar, though somewhat expanded, version was included in a paper read to The Rhode Island Historical Society in 1886 by Charles H. Denison, who stated that he himself had put it "into rhyme."

THE KING OF THE BAY

Not far from Apponaug lived Molly the fair,
A belle in the pride of her glory;
In a fine situation for taking the air,
Which no one will deny, who has ever been there—
If he does, 'twill not injure my story.

In a gabled roofed house, by the side of the road,
She dwelt with a heart void of care;
A chimney of stone in the old fashioned mode,
Crown'd the roof of her low and romantic abode,
Which was something in want of repair.

One eve, as fair Molly had set herself down,
Pounding spice in a huge wooden mortar,
A waggoner stopt, just returning from town,
(His coat was snuff coloured, his trousers were brown)
And asked for a mug of cold water.

"O yes," says the maiden. The stranger remains
At the gate, at the side of his wagon,
(Within which some hay and a rundlet remains,
A beef's head, by the nose, hung above in the chains)
To wait for the maid and her flagon.

The maid soon appear'd with her flagon so bright,
'Twas pewter and filled with sweet cider;
He seized it with haste and drank with delight,
He looked at the maid (who was six feet in height)
Lord ha' mercy! how sharply he eyed her!

In a twinkling the form of a monster he took;
The wagon had vanish'd from view;
The maid with surprise and astonishment shook,
And gave o'er her shoulder a terrified look—
Her eyes not a little askew.

His hair of black sea-weed is wound like a wreath;
His nose like a *lobster* appears;
A beard of thick eel grass is hanging beneath,
While two rows of huge barnacles serve him for teeth
And two overgrown clam shells for ears!

"Who are you?" fair Molly with eagerness said.
"No being of earth, pretty maiden:
I'm a god of the sea you perceive by my head;
The sharks and the bluefish behold me with dread,
And I rule the Tautaug and Menhaden.

"The King of the Bay Narragansett I've been
Since the stars and the planets have kept tune;
My crown, (this was said with a complaisant grin—
Which shewed the enormous extent of his chin)
I received from my great uncle Neptune.

"But Molly, I'm tired of a bachelor's life,
For a change I've been some time preparing;
And though marriage I hear has its troubles and strife,
I at length have concluded to make you my wife.
(Why, Lord, how the woman is staring!)

"All my subjects will gaze and behold us with pride
As we range through our kingdom together,
While the world shall remain you shall live as my bride;
You shall rule all the shell fish and eels, and shall ride
On a shovel nosed shark in bad weather."

Then he whisked her, while screaming with terror, away
To a rock in North Kingstown, he brought her,
And the mark of their feet, as the old women say
Impressed on the rock may be seen to this day*
Where he jumped with her into the water!

*This is no fiction; the rock is there & can speak for itself.

CORRECTION

In the January, 1956, issue of *Rhode Island History*, it was erroneously stated that Captain Carlo Mauran was in partnership with his brother Joseph. It was his brother Joshua who was his partner.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



NEW MEMBERS

December 10, 1955 — February 29, 1956

Mrs. Harold F. Ballou West Barrington, R. I.	Mr. and Mrs. H. Bailey Mason Barrington, R. I.
Mr. James F. Connelly Edgewood, R. I.	Miss Mary Lippitt Mason
Mrs. John B. DeWolf Bristol, R. I.	Mr. Charles G. Maytum
Mrs. M. Cross Edgren	Mr. James Means
Mr. & Mrs. Charles W. Farnham	Mr. Claiborne Pell Washington, D. C.
Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. Gately Barrington, R. I.	Mr. Waldo C. Sprague Wollaston, Mass.
Mrs. Hugh Allison Greenwood Washington, D. C.	Mr. Stuart K. Tuttle East Providence, R. I.

LECTURES

April 11, 1956, Wednesday STATED MEETING 8:15 p.m.

The Maiden Voyage of the *Ann and Hope*, 1798-1799

ROBERT W. KENNY, Department of English, Brown University

May 9, 1956, Wednesday 8:15 p.m.

S'cunnet: an Old Pilgrim Town

DAVID PATTEN, former Managing Editor, *Providence Journal-Bulletin*

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